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SELECTION HOST-DISPATCH

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## Dulles's Policy of Not Backing Down to Reds

## Just Isn't Enough

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HREE times in the year now ending the cycle of challenge, repulse and standoff has been repeated—Lebanon, the China offshore islands and Berlin, this is the familiar staple of the cold war.

As in the past, the partisens of John Foster Dulles are saying that we have a Secretary of State who can stand firm! Dulles has proved once more, so say those still faithful, that he will not spt the United States be pushed around.

This, it is scarcely necessary to add, is a tragic confusion of the meaning of events. Merely to stay in place, to stand firm, in the deadly race with Communism is to lose by default. While expending somuch effort staying in place, the West has seen Communism advance in decisive areas of conflict.

In refusing to "back down," Secretary Dulles, in the view of his loyal followers, has rejected the defeatist counsel of those who would "appease" the Communists, but the truth is that, in the face of a crisis; with the prestige and position of the West at stake, no one is for "backing" down." Even the Communists can hardly be naive enough to believe that the United States will "back down" when confronted with a threat of force.

But it is in the failures and the evasions leading up to the crisis that one more brink-which seem to an increasing number of Dulles's critics to be the perhaps fatal flaw in American foreign policy. Far from strengthening the West, each brink produces new strains and stresses.

Communists who may gamble for a big! back-down but are quite willing to take lesser gainn Nineteen fifty-eight i has shown this in full measure,

Before the tests came there was, however, a curious and now almost forgotten interlude, in which Dulles emerged—or so he felt at the time—on solid ground. The Russians last spring seized on the American practice of sending SAC bombars equipped with hydrogen bombs over the Aretic in response to radar warnings. This, says Moscow with full propaganda thunder, was a terrible threat to the

With the resourcefulness in give-andtake he so often shows. Dulles challenged Abe-Sevieth before the United Nations to accept mutual inspection in the Arctic. They said no, as they will always say no to any massive inspection system imposed at one bound. At the NATO ministers' conference in Copenhagen in May which followed, Dulles was confident he had demonstrated once and for all the futility of any negotiation with Moscow. In private to his colleagues, he expressed something like a sense of triumph that he had put an end to the nonsense about "talking with the Russians."

But the three brinks that followed have dimmed, if indeed they have not erased. that brief triumph. While the marines kept Lebanon from collapse, the neutralists have now taken over and the rebels are in power. The Eisenhower Doctrine which was to have been a bulwark in the Middle East is defunct. Major sources of oil for Western Europe are more gravely threatened than ever before.

At the time vor the showdown over Quemey and Matsu, Dulles argued convincingly that the weaknesses in almost This obviously is the objective of the every nation in southeast Asia made it

certain that'if the United States failed to stand firm the whole house of cards would collapse. That was a persuasive argument. once the crisis had been reached, and the United States did stand firm. But, so far as can be discerned, those same weaknesses are today even more aggravated and no massive effort is proposed to try to correct them.

In the Berlin crisis the spate of official denials could not cover up the deep differences in the Western alliance. The British were distinctly unhappy. Out of the latest. NATO meeting has come a new ferment of desire for talks with the Rus-朝命時間 Par 5 Table 2 Table 3 T

Speaking to the Council of Churches in Cleveland, Dulles sounded what was almost a note of despair where was the American dynamic, why had we failed to come up with a purposefulness to match the Communists? But a month later in San Francisco he returned to the comfortable thesis that if only the West holds firm,; Communism will wither away.

The dynamic, the drive; cannot come from spontaneous combustion. It can only come from leadership at the top. That was true in 1958 and it will be equally true in 1859.

One of the midor events of 1958 was the crisis in France. The threat of milltary dictatorship was very real until Gen. Charles De Caulle emerged as the champion (of a pew and atrongen democratic France. He has just been elected President of the Fifth Republic and, while the problems he faces are still formidable, the continuing war in Algeria being foremost among them, there is at least a chance that the greatly strongthened government under De Gaulle can solve them. !!

From the viewpoint of American policys

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